

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 /026 W

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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8355

INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 2795

EXDIS

NOFORN

FROM US REP MBFR

E. O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: MBFR: DISCUSSION WITH SOVIET REP APRIL 5 - FURTHER
DETAILS

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. THIS MESSAGE GIVES FURTHER VIEWS OF SOVIET
REP KVITSINSKIY ON THE HUNGARIAN PARTICIPATION ISSUE. IT ALSO
DISCUSSES POSSIBLE SOVIET MOTIVES FOR RECENT EMPHASIS ON
BILATERAL CONTACTS WITH US. END SUMMARY.

2. IN APRIL 5 CONVERSATION BETWEEN US REP AND SOVIET REP
KVITSINSKIY (OTHER DETAILS IN SEPTAL), WHICH TOOK PLACE AT
LATTER' S REQUEST, KVITSINSKIY ASKED FOR WASHINGTON REACTION
TO THE TEXT HE HAD GIVEN US REP ON MARCH 30 (TEXT CONTAINED IN
VIENNA 2621) AND SOVIET PROPOSAL OF APRIL 3 (DISCUSSED IN PARAS 2
AND 3 OF VIENNA 2688) REGARDING UNILATERAL STATEMENTS.
KVITSINSKIY REPEATED THAT SOVIETS DID NOT WISH TO FOLLOW THE
COURSE OUTLINED ON THESE OCCASIONS UNLESS THEY RECEIVED SOME
ASSURANCE FROM THE US THAT THE PACKAGE THEY WERE PROPOSING WAS
ACCEPTABLE AND FEASIBLE.

3. US REP SAID HE HAD TRANSMITTED KVITSINSKIY' S REMARKS ON THIS
SUBJECT TO WASHINGTON. HE HAD RECEIVED NO REPLY ON THIS
SPECIFIC POINT. HE BELIEVED DISCUSSION SHOULD MOVE BACK INTO
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QUADRILATERAL GROUP WHERE HE WOULD PRESENT COMMENTS ON THE SOVIET TEXT WHICH HE EXPECTED TO RECEIVE FROM WASHINGTON. THESE SHOULD PROVIDE ADEQUATE INDICATION OF US POSITION. KVITSINSKIY SAID THAT WAS NOT MUCH OF A RESPONSE, AND HE DOUBTED THAT MOSCOW WOULD WANT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ENTERPRISE FURTHER IF THAT WAS ALL THAT WAS FORTHCOMING. US REP SAID KVITSINSKIY SHOULD WAIT RESULT OF DISCUSSION IN QUADRILATERAL GROUP BEFORE DRAWING ANY CONCLUSIONS.

4. KVITSINSKIY REMARKED THAT HE WAS HAVING DIFFICULTIES WITH USTOR, WHO REFUSED TO EVEN CONSIDER THE PROPOSED ALLIED STATEMENT IN THE SAME DOCUMENT WITH THE REMAINDER OF THE PROCEDURES TEXT. KVITSINSKIY SAID SOVIETS HAD NOT YET TOLD HUNGARIANS THAT SOVIETS WERE WILLING FOR THEM TO MAKE A STATEMENT. IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR SOVIETS TO SWITCH POSITIONS UNLESS SOVIETS COULD TELL THEM MATTER HAD BEEN ARRANGED WITH US. US REP SAID USTOR WAS ALREADY SPEAKING OF EXCHANGE OF STATEMENTS. KVITSINSKIY SAID THIS WAS CASE, BUT USTOR HAD IN MIND ELABORATE REF TO ITALY RATHER THAN OMITTING REF TO ITALY AS SOVIETS WILLING TO DO. US REP SUGGESTED THAT IF SOVIETS WERE HAVING DIFFICULTIES WITH HUNGARIANS, THE SOVIETS MIGHT FIND IT USEFUL TO HAVE A DISCUSSION WITH THE NETHERLANDS REP AND HIMSELF ON SOCIAL OCCASION WITHOUT THE HUNGARIANS PRESENT. KVITSINSKIY ACCEPTED THIS INVITATION.

5. THERE FOLLOWED A CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION OF CONSTRAINTS (REPORTED SEPTTEL). THE US REP ASKED WHY THE SOVIETS SHOULD REALLY OBJECT TO THESE MEASURES WHICH AFTER ALL WOULD BE ON A RECIPROCAL BASIS. KVITSINSKIY SAID THE SOVIETS ALREADY HAD ACCESS TO ALL THE INFO ABOUT NATO FORCES WHICH AUTHORIZED OBSERVERS COULD OBTAIN AND THUS RECIPROCAL CONSTRAINTS AGREEMENT WOULD ONLY BE AN ADDITIONAL AND SUPERFLUOUS BUREAUCRATIC EXPENSE.

6. KVITSINSKIY EXPRESSED INTEREST IN AN INFORMAL DISCUSSION OF AGENDA AND COMMUNIQUE, "IN ORDER TO SPEED UP THE PROCESS."

7 HE ASKED US REP WHETHER IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO SLIGHTLY LOOSEN UP TEXT OF PROPOSED ALLIED STATEMENT ON HUNGARY. US REP SAID THIS MIGHT BE POSSIBLE WITHIN VERY CIRCUMSCRIBED LIMITS IF MAIN LINES OF STATEMENTS PRESERVED FULLY INTACT. (NOTE: THIS STATEMENT IN QUESTION IS THE PROPOSED ALLIED STATEMENT IN PARA 16 B OF VIENNA 2482, WHICH IS THE TEXT WHICH THE
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SOVIETS HAVE AGREED COULD BE MADE BY THE ALLIES SUBJECT TO

HUNGARIAN COUNTERSTATEMENT ON WHICH, HOWEVER, KVITSINSKIY SHOWED HIMSELF RATHER MORE CONCILIATORY ON THIS OCCASION.) WE CONSIDER THIS ALLIED STATEMENT CONSIDERABLY STRONGER THAN THAT CONTAINED IN PARA 3 OF STATE 62779 AND WONDER WHY DEPT CONSIDERS LATTER DESIRABLE.

8. DURING HUNGARIAN LUNCH LATER SAME DAY, KVITSINSKIY MADE ONE OF HIS INFREQUENT REFS TO CSCE. HE SAID THAT SOVIETS WERE CONCERNED BY FACT THAT US AND ALLIES WEE HOLDING BACK AT HELSINKI ON DATE OF PHASE I OF CSCE. HE ASSERTED THAT IF THE US DID NOT MAKE GOOD ON ITS AGREEMENTS, THEN WHOLE UNDERSTANDING ON CSCE AND MBFR COULD COLLAPSE. US REP SAID SOVIETS SHOULD EXERCISE MORE OF THE PATIENCE FOR WHICH THEY WERE WELL KNOWN.

9. COMMENT: WASHINGTON AGENCIES HAVE NOTED RECENT INTENSIFICATION OF KVITSINSKIY'S EFFORTS AT BILATERAL CONTACTS. QUITE ASIDE FROM USUAL SOVIET TENDENCIES TO ESTABLISH THIS TYPE OF BILATERALISM AS MARK OF EQUALITY BETWEEN TWO SUPER POWERS, DECIDING OPEN ISSUES BETWEEN THEMSELVES AND PERHAPS DRIVING WEDGE BETWEEN US AND ITS ALLIES IN PROCESS, IT APPEARS TO US THAT THESE EFFORTS EVIDENCE A CERTAIN DEGREE OF URGENCY TO COME TO AGREEMENT ON THE HUNGARIAN PARTICIPATION ISSUE WHICH MAY POINT TO POSITIVE SOVIET MOTIVES. HUMES

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FROM US REP MBFR

10. SOVIET REP KVITSINSKIY HAS BEEN AT CONSIDERABLE PAINS TO MAINTAIN THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF THESE EXCHANGES. THIS IS NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF REALIZATION OF DAMAGE TO THE US- SOVIET RELATIONSHIP IF A DELIBERATE EFFORT WERE MADE TO EXPLOIT THE FACT OF THESE CONTACTS, BUT CLEARLY, JUDGING FROM KVITSINSKIY' S REMARKS, BECAUSE THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN EXPOSED TO AND ARE QUITE SENSITIVE TO CRITICISM FROM THEIR OWN ALLIES IN VIENNA CONCERNING SUCH BILATERAL BEHAVIOR. A FURTHER FACTOR IS INVOLVED. IT HAS BEEN EVIDENT TO US FOR SOME TIME THAT THE MEMBERS OF THE SOVIET MBFR DELEGATION HAVE DIFFICULTIES IN SPEAKING OPENLY IN THE PRESENCE OF OTHER WARSAW PACT MEMBERS, AND SPECIFICALLY THE HUNGARIANS DURING THE QUADRILATERAL DISCUSSIONS. THIS HAS BECOME EVIDENT BY THE DIFFERENT PATTERN OF SOVIET BEHAVIOR EVEN WHEN THEY ARE WITH A MIXED GROUP OF WESTERN ALLIES BUT WITHOUT ANY OF THEIR OWN ALLIES PRESENT, AND IT IS EVIDENT FROM A NUMBER OF REMARKS MADE BY KVITSINSKIY CONCERNING THE QUADRILATERAL DISCUSSIONS ON HUNGARY. THE THREE CHIEF SOVIET DELEGATES, WHO SEEM TO GET ALONG FAIRLY WELL AMONG THEMSELVES AND TO HAVE SOME DEGREE OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE, APPEAR TO BELIEVE THAT THEY WOULD BE EXPOSED TO CRITICISM FROM OTHER WARSAW PACT DELEGATIONS LOCALLY IF THEY SPOKE AS FREELY AS THEY DO IN FRONT OF ALLIES AND MORE PARTICULARLY, THAT THEIR REMARKS MIGHT BE REPORTED TO MOSCOW BY ONE OF THE OTHER WARSAW PACT DELEGATIONS AND GET THEM INTO DIFFICULTY THERE. MOREOVER, THE SOVIETS STRIVE TO CREATE THE IMPRESSION WITH THE WARSAW

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PACT OF BEING INVINCIBLE IN ALL ENTERPRISES AND ARE RELUCTANT TO MAKE EVEN SMALL CONCESSIONS OR TO ACKNOWLEDGE UNORTHODOX ARGUMENTATION IN THEIR PRESENCE.

11. WE BELIEVE THIS ASPECT, WHICH WILL HAVE TO BE BORNE IN MIND IN THE FALL NEGOTIATIONS, IS ONE IMPORTANT REASON WHY KVITSINSKIY HAS RECENTLY SOUGHT OUT US REP SO FREQUENTLY. WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO DEAL WITH IT BY INVITING THE SOVIETS ON SOCIAL OCCASIONS WITH NETHERLANDS REP OR POSSIBLY OTHER ALLIES PRESENT, BUT WITHOUT OTHER WARSAW PACT MEMBERS. THIS MAY PRODUCE FREER DISCUSSION WITHOUT DIFFICULTIES OF BILATERALISM.

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